

## Message Text

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12  
ACTION EA-09

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H-02 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 PRS-01 EB-07

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC HONOLULU  
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 10813

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, US, JA, CHP  
SUBJ: SENATOR MANSFIELD'S CONVERSATION WITH MINISTER OF  
DEFENSE SAKATA

SUMMARY: DURIN SENATOR MANSFIELD'S MEETING WITH DEFENSE  
MINISTER SAKATA, JULY 12, THE MINISTER DISCUSSED JAPANESE  
ATTITUDES TOWARD DEFENSE, HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE  
OF A CONTINUED U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN KOREA, RECENT IN-  
CREASED SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITIES IN AREAS AROUND JAPAN AND  
THE LEVEL OF U.S. BASES AND FACILITIES IN JAPAN. THE MIN-  
ISTER'S REMARKS WERE ESSENTIALLY AN ELABORATION OF STANDING  
GOJ POSITIONS ON THESE MATTERS. END SUMMARY.

1. DEFENSE WHITE PAPER AND JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD  
SECURITY  
--MINISTER SAKATA DESCRIBED WHAT HE BELIEVED HAS BEEN THE  
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SHIFT IN JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD SECURITY AND, IN PARTICU-

LAR, THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. HE NOTED THAT THIS SHIFT REFLECTED CHANGING PERCEPTIONS ON THESE ISSUES FOLLOWING THE END OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND DESCRIBED THE SHIFT AS BEING IN THE DIRECTION OF A MORE REALISTIC AND LESS EMOTIONAL CONSIDERATION OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE REQUIREMENT. SAKATA STATED THAT THE WHITE PAPER HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN THIS TENDENCY BY OFFERING A REALISTIC AND PRACTICAL PLAN FOR IMPROVING JAPAN'S SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. SAKTA EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST ADOPT A GRADUALIST APPROACH TO THIS EFFORT AND NOT ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE PACE.

## 2. KOREA

--IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR MANSFIELD'S EXPRESSION OF INTEREST IN THE MINISTER'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. PRESENCE, THE MINISTER RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT THE TALKS BY NORTH KOREA AND SOUTH KOREA HAD BROKEN DOWN AND THAT THE POSSIBILITY REMAINS FOR RENewed TENSION ON THE PENINSULA. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH HE ATTACHED TO A CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE AS A MEANS TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES AND HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO SUDDEN CHANGE IN THAT PRESENCE. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, SAKATA SUGGESTED THE NEED FOR SOME UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA, THE U.S., AND JAPAN TO ASSURE CONTINUED STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA, BUT HE CLEARLY DID NOT SEE THIS AS A NEAR-TERM POSSIBILITY. WITH RESPECT TO THE SOUTH KOREAN DOMESTIC SITUATION, SAKATA STATED THAT HE BELIEVED CONTINUED ECONOMIC PROGRESS HOLDS THE KEY TO POLITICAL STABILITY AND SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. AND JAPAN SHOULD COOPERATE TO THIS END.

## 3. SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE

--SENATOR MANSFIELD ASKED FOR THE MINISTER'S ASSESSMENT OF INCREASED SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. THE MINISTER COMMENTED THAT IN BROADEST TERMS THIS DEVELOPMENT PROBABLY REFLECTS SOVIET DESIRE TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A WORLD NAVAL POWER. MORE SPECIFICALLY WITH RESPECT TO ASIA, HE THOUGHT IT POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIET ACTIVITIES WERE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD CHINA. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT WITHIN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAD BEEN AN UNUSUAL INCREASE IN SOVIET

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NAVAL AND AIR ACTIVITY IN AREAS AROUND JAPAN. HE COULD OFFER NO CONFIDENT JUDGEMENT AS TO THE PURPOSE OF SUCH ACTIVITY, BUT DID NOT SEEM OVERLY CONCERNED BY IT. HE DID REMARK, HOWEVER, THAT A USEFUL PURPOSE WAS SERVED BY DRAWING PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THESE ACTIVITIES AS A MEANS OF ENCOURAGING JAPANESE PEOPLE TO THINK MORE SERIOUSLY ABOUT THEIR DEFENSE REQUIREMENT.

4. U.S. BASES AND FACILITIES

--SENATOR MANSFIELD ASKED WHETHER THE MINISTE FELT THAT, 30 YEARS AFTER THE END OF THE WAR, THE U.S. CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN TOO LARGE A PRESENCE HERE IN JAPAN. SOME DISCUSSION ENSUED ON THE REDUCTION WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE SINCE 1952 IN THE NUMBER OF FACILITIES AND TOTAL AREA OCCUPIED BY U.S. BASES IN JAPAN. WITH MINISTER SAKATA NOTING THAT A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION HAD TAKEN PLACE. THE MINISTER INDICATED THAT THIS SUBJECT WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER STUDY BY THE NEWLY-INSTITUTED SUB-COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE COOPERATION AND HE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE ADDITIONAL RELEASE OF FACILITIES AND AREAS AGREED UPON AT THE LAST MEETING OF THE SECURITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. VICE-MINISTER KUBO THEN NOTED THAT THE LATEST CONCENTRATION OF U.S. BASES AND FACILITIES IS IN OKINAWA AND THAT THIS CONTINUES TO BE A SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE LOCAL CRITICISM AND DISSATISFACTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, KUBO EMPHASIZED, THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN OKINAWA IS ESSENTIAL, NOT ONLY TO THE SECURITY OF JAPAN, BUT TO CONTINUED STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. KUBO SAID THAT CONTINUED EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO RECONCILE THESE TWO CONFLICTING CONSIDERATIONS, BUT HE CONCLUDED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THERE COULD BE A FURTHER SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE ON OKINAWA WITHOUT PREJUDICING THESE IMPORTANT SECURITY CONCERNS.

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